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American School
of Classical Studies
in Rome

STUDIES IN THE LIVES OF ROMAN EMPRESSES

AFTER the first century of the Roman Empire, two Empresses — Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus and mother of Caracalla, and her niece Julia Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus — surpassed all others who bore the name Augusta in the dignity of their titles, in the public honor they received, and in the extent to which they participated in the actual administration of the government. This is made evident by isolated statements of contemporary historians¹ and of the biographers of the Emperors.² It is the purpose of these studies to combine the scanty evidence derived from such literary sources with the testimony of coins and inscriptions, in order to determine, if possible, the relation of these women, in point of influence, to their predecessors and to the members of their own families, and to define their position in the Empire.

I. JULIA DOMNA³

According to writers of the *Historiae Augustae*, Marius Maximus told the following story: ⁴ Septimius Severus had lost his first wife, Marcia,⁵ and was considering his second marriage, when he learned that the horoscope of a certain girl in the Orient promised that she should be a king's wife; therefore he

¹ Dion Cassius and Herodian.

² Spartianus, Lampridius, and others.

³ Part II, dealing with the position and influence of Julia Mamaea, will be published in vol. I of the *University of Michigan Studies* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902).

⁴ Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, 5, 4; Spartianus, *Severus*, 3, 9.

⁵ Her name was Paccia Marciana (*C.I.L.* VIII, 19494; cf. *Spart. Sev.* 3, 9).

sought her out and married her, with the purpose of fulfilling the prophecy. Though the story sounds suspiciously like a *vaticinatio post eventum*, it is interesting as evidence of a belief that the influence of this woman, Julia Domna, was essential to her husband's success.

Julia Domna was the daughter of Julius Bassianus, priest of the Sun at Emesa, Syria.¹ Dion Cassius states that she was of low² or plebeian³ rank, but it is not probable that this statement is to be taken literally,⁴ for in Asia the priesthood of the Sun was intimately connected with royalty,⁵ and Julia Domna maintained her relation to the Sun cult after she became Empress.⁶ She had a sister Julia Maesa,⁷ and a kinsman, possibly a brother,⁸ both of whom followed her to Rome. Nothing is known of her early life. She became the wife of Septimius Severus in 187, when he was *legatus pro praetore* at Lyons.⁹ Her first son, Bassianus (Caracalla), was born at Lugudunum within a year after her marriage.¹⁰ Her second son, Geta, was born in 189, in Rome, during the first consulate of Severus.¹¹ During some time following the consulate, she with her family remained at

¹ Victor, *Epitome*, 21.

² Dion Cassius, *Excerpta Vaticana*, Mai, 74. ³ Dion Cassius, LXVIII, 24.

⁴ Lampridius calls her "nobilem orientis mulierem" (*Alex.* 5, 4).

⁵ See coins of the Arsacidae; Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, VI, pp. 360 ff. It may not be a mere coincidence that Julia Domna's niece Soaemias bore a name which had belonged to royalty at Emesa: "Soemus, King of Emesa" (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XX, 84, etc.). An Arsacid Soaemus is mentioned by Photius (*Dramatikon*, 94, 241, R.).

⁶ Caracalla made Emesa a colony. See Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, p. 400.

⁷ Herodian, *Historiae*, V, 3, 2.

⁸ The name Julius Gessius Bassianus occurs in contemporary Arval inscriptions (*C.I.L.* VI, 2086).

⁹ Spartianus, *Sev.* 3, 9. Dion Cassius, who represents Julia Domna as bride of Severus before the death of Faustina, 175 A.D. (*Historiae*, LXXIV, 3), seems never to have heard of Marciana, to whom Severus was married when he was *tribunus plebis* (Spartianus, *Sev.* 3, 1-2). Severus did not mention her name in his autobiography (*ibid.*), the source from which Dion probably drew the account of the portents accompanying his marriage in 175 and foretelling his *imperium*.

¹⁰ Spartianus, *Sev.* 3, 9; 10, 3. He died aged twenty-nine, April 8, 217 A.D. (Dion Cassius, LXXVIII, 6).

¹¹ Victor, *Epitome*, 21, 1; Spartianus, *Sev.* 4, 2. He died aged twenty-two, February, 212 (Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 2).

Rome, living very simply at first, and later with somewhat more pretension, after their removal to an estate purchased by Severus¹ shortly before he became *legatus pro praetore* of Pannonia, in 191. Their private life was interrupted by the departure of Severus for Pannonia, but there is nothing to indicate where or how Julia Domna spent the two years following. It seems probable that she was absent from the city when her husband was proclaimed a public enemy because his army had hailed him Emperor,² and that she did not return until he had completed his victorious march toward Rome.

No doubt Julia Domna and her sons had some part in the conqueror's entrance into the city — "the most glorious spectacle," Dion says, "that I have ever witnessed."³ In celebration of this triumphal entry, coins were struck in honor of the conqueror's wife, with the name IVLIA DOMNA and the legends BONA SPES and BONI EVENTUS,⁴ expressing the promise of the Emperor to govern well and to satisfy the expectation of all. The imperial name Augusta was given to her during this first year, and is found on all of her inscriptions and on all of her coins except those just mentioned.

Very little can be learned of Julia Domna's life during the four years which Severus spent in crushing his rivals and in establishing himself in the Empire. According to the biographer of Albinus she showed herself even more ambitious than Severus, for, dissatisfied with the compromise because of which Albinus was acknowledged as Caesar,⁵ she urged her husband to strike for the undisputed possession of the Empire.⁶ She must have accompanied Severus to Syria on his expedition against Niger, as she seems for a time to have had in her family the children of the latter.⁷

After the final defeat of Niger, and the victories over the

¹ Spartianus, *Sev.* 4, 5-6.

² Dion Cassius, LXXIII, 16.

³ *Ibid.* LXXIV, 1.

⁴ Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, IV, 'Julia Domna,' n. 8-10; cf. coins of Severus with the same legend, of the date of 193 (*ibid.* 'Severus,' n. 56, 65-66).

⁵ Capitolinus, *Albinus*, 1, 2. Herodian, II, 15, 3.

⁶ Capitolinus, *Albinus*, 3, 4-5.

⁷ Spartianus, *Sev.* 8, 11.

Adiabeni and the Arabs, the earliest dated inscription in Julia Domna's honor was dedicated in 195 A.D., at Palermo, together with inscriptions in honor of Severus and Caracalla. These recognize Caracalla as Caesar, and Julia Domna as one of the founders of a new dynasty (*C.I.L.* X, 7272):

IVLIAE AVG
IMP · CAES · L · SEPTI
MI · SEVERI · PERTNA
CIS · AVG · PII · PARTHI ·
CI · ARABICI · ET · PAR
THICI ADIABENI
CI · P · M · TR POT III
IMP V COS · II · P · P ·
RES · PVBL · PANHORMI
TANORVM

Within the year following, in recognition of her presence in her husband's campaigns, she was given the title *Mater Castrorum*, which is found first on bases dedicated in 196 at Narbo and at Ostia.¹ The inscription from Narbo is as follows (*C.I.L.* XII, 4345):

IVLIAE DOM
NAE AVGVSTAE
IMP · CAES · L · SEP
TIMI SEVERI PII PER
TINACIS AVG ARA
BICI ADIABENICI
P · P · P · M · TRIB POT IIII IMP VIII COS II ET
M AVRELI ANTONI
NI CAES MATRI
ITEMQVE CASTRORVM
DECVMAN NARB

As the title *Mater Castrorum*² appears for the first time in the year 196, it seems probable that Julia Domna received it in honor

¹ *C.I.L.* XIV, 120.

² Faustina, the first Empress to be called *Mater Castrorum*, was given the title to correspond with the seventh salutation of Marcus Aurelius as *imperator*,

of the victories over the Adiabeni, which were, in 195, the occasion of the sixth and seventh salutation of Severus as *imperator*.¹ On bronze coins that represent the Empress as *Mater Castrorum*, or patron of the army, she is portrayed veiled, sometimes wearing a diadem, and either sacrificing before an altar, or seated holding a phoenix poised on a globe or a sceptre; in both designs appear military standards.²

There is nothing to indicate where Julia Domna passed the time occupied by Severus in the campaign which ended in the defeat and death of Albinus in February, 197, at Lugudunum.³ Several inscriptions, naming her "Mother of Caesar⁴ and of the Camp,⁵" show that Severus was accepted as Emperor in Africa and in the East, while Gallic inscriptions indicate that Albinus had still a following in that part of the Empire.

The people of Lugudunum were soon reconciled to their new master; for as in 194 a *taurobolium* had been offered for Severus and Albinus Caesar and the "divine house," so three months after the victory the same offering was made for Severus and his family.⁶ The record is as follows (Wilmanns, *Exempla*, 122):

[*pro sal*]VTE · IMP · L · SEPTIMI
[*Severi*] PII PERTINACIS AVG
ET · M · AVRELI ANTONINI CAES

after a victory over the Quadi, and because she accompanied the Emperor on military expeditions (Dion Cassius, LXXI, 10. Capitolinus, *Marcus*, 25, 8; cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, 795. Herzog, *Gesch. und System*, II, p. 799. Schiller, *Röm. Kais.* I, 741).

¹ Wirth, *Quaestiones Severianae*, p. 25. Dion Cassius, LXXV, 1-4.

² Cohen, IV, pp. 115-116. Both designs are found on coins of Faustina the younger, the latter, however, only on those struck after her deification. One design — "ears of wheat" — on Julia Domna's coins, with the legend MATER CASTRORVM, has no apparent connection with the title.

³ Spartianus, *Sev.* 11, 7; Capitolinus, *Albinus*, 9; Dion Cassius, LXXV, 6 ff.; Herodian, III, 7.

⁴ Severus had named his son Bassianus "Antoninus Caesar" (Spartianus, *Sev.* 10, 3). He is called Antoninus (never Bassianus) on inscriptions from 195 A.D.

⁵ *C.I.L.* III, 154, 304; VIII, 9032, 9033, by priests or municipalities. *C.I.G.* Sept. 1845-1846; cf. 1844 to Antoninus Caesar.

⁶ Boissieu, *Inscript. Lyon.* p. 29.

IMP DESTINATI ET
 IVLIAE AVG MATRIS CASTROR
 TOTIVSQVE DOMVS · DIVINAE
 EORVM · ET · STATV · C · C · C · AVG · LVG ·
 [t]AVROBOLIVM · FECERVNT
 SEPTICIA VALERIANA ET OPTATIA · SPORA EX VOTO
 PRAEEVNTE AELIO ANTHO SA
 CERDOTE SACERDOTIA AEMI
 LIA SECVNDILLA TIBICINE FL
 RESTITVTO APPARITORE VIREI
 O HERMETIONE
 INCHOATVM EST SACRVM IIII
 NONAS · MAIAS · CONSVMMMA
 TVM NONIS EISDEM
 T · SEXTIO LATERANO · L · CVSPIO
 RVFINO COS
 LDDD.

In the year 197, dedications were made to Julia Domna as mother of the heir apparent to the Empire (*imperator destinatus*) and wife of the Emperor, each with a full enumeration of the titles of her husband and son. Two of these were found in Numidia;¹ one, at Trebula Mutuesca,² in Italy. But more important than these as an indication of Julia Domna's actual rank in the Empire is a milestone from Lagina, in Caria, of the year 197, the oldest existing milestone that is inscribed with the name of an Emperor's wife. Severus now laid claim to the Empire as his personal property, and therefore marked public monuments as private possessions,³ admitting his wife and his son also as co-proprietors. The inscription is written in both Greek and Latin (*C.I.L.* III, 482, ll. 1-6):

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 5699, 6702.

² *Ibid.* IX, 4880.

³ Hirschfeld (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 173-174, n. 2) quotes Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, "Ita Romam a se multifariam instauratam urbem suam Severus et Antoninus vocaverunt, itaque non populi Romani sed domus imperatoris principisque quasi praedium habita est."

IMP·CAESAR [L] SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PER
TINAX AVG·PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNI
CIAE POTESTATIS [iiii p p] COS II ET IMP·CAES
M·AVR·ANTONINVS PIVS AVG·PONTIFEX
MAX
ET IVL·DOMNA AVG MATER CA[s]TRO
RVM

A few months after the battle of Lugudunum, Julia Domna was in Asia with Severus,¹ who spent more than a year in settling affairs on the eastern frontier of the Empire and in reducing to obedience all who had not accepted him as Emperor;² and after peace was established, it is probable that she accompanied him on his visit to Egypt.

From this year, 197, many inscriptions were made in honor of Julia Domna, not only as wife of Severus and *Mater Castorum*, but also as mother of an Emperor and of a Caesar; for as a result of the victory of Lugudunum, Caracalla was proclaimed Augustus, and Geta, Caesar.³ As the Empire was now in a state of comparative tranquillity, attention was everywhere turned to repairing the damage resulting from the civil wars. Buildings were erected in all the provinces, and dedicated to members of the imperial house. Because Severus was an African, the African towns and cities were especially active in this sort of adulation. The largest number of dedications to Julia Domna is found in Numidia, at Lambaesis, the permanent camp of the legio III Augusta, to which Severus had given the name *pia vindex*. Here the associations formed by soldiers and officers adopted as patrons members of the imperial family,⁴ and set up their statues in the regular places of meeting, which were dedicated "to the prosperity of Severus, Julia, and their sons."⁵

¹ Cf. Schiller, *Röm. Kais.* II, p. 719.

² Spartianus, *Sev.* 12-15; Herodian, III, 8-9; Dion Cassius, LXXV, 9.

³ Spartianus, *Sev.* 16, 2, and *Geta*, 5, 3.

⁴ Waltzung, *Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains*, pp. 219, 227.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2550-2553, 2558-2559, 2549, 18702, 18253-18255.

There were dedicated, also, special offerings to the "Genius of Lambaesis" and the "Genius of Legio III Augusta Pia Vindex," for the prosperity of Severus, Julia Domna, and their children. A single inscription gives the general form of all (*C.I.L.* VIII, 2527):

GENIO · LEG III AVG P V
 PRO SALVTE
 IMPP CAES · L SEPTIMI SEVERI PII PERTINACIS
 AVG · ET · M AVRELI AN
 TONINI AVG · FELICIS
 PAR · BRIT · GER · MAX · AVG¹
 ET IVLIAE AVGVSTAE
 MATRIS AVGVSTI N
 ET CASTROR · DEDICANT
 Q ANICIO FAVSTO LEG
 AVGG · PR PR C · V · COS DES
 T ARRANIVS DATVS
 SIGNIFER ·
 EX · IS III MIL · N · DE SVO
 POSVIT

Inscriptions of 198 A.D., at Tucci,² Spain, and Thagaste,³ Numidia, are dedications to Julia Domna as wife of the "restorer of peace." At about the same time a building⁴ was dedicated at Thamugas to the whole imperial family; and a basis,⁵ "to Antoninus Augustus, son of Severus Augustus and of Julia Augusta." More important than these, because placed upon a public work erected by a city, is an inscription from a bridge over the river Chabina (Bolam Su), between Cappadocia and Commagene. This bridge was rebuilt, 200 A.D., by Severus and his sons, and on each of four columns, placed at its four corners, the "four cities of Com-

¹ Titles of Caracalla substituted for Geta's name.

² *C.I.L.* II, 1668; Severus is called *Restitutor pacis publicae* in the companion inscriptions, *C.I.L.* II, 1669, 1670, 2124.

³ *C.I.L.* VIII, 17214.

⁴ *Ibid.* VIII, 2437-2438.

⁵ *Ibid.* VIII, 17871.

magene" erected a portrait of a member of the imperial family.¹ The inscription to Julia Domna is as follows (*C.I.L.* III. 6714):

IVL · DOMNAM
AVG · MATREM
KA[*str*]O[*r*]VM
QVAT · CIVITAT · COMMAG

A Greek inscription, dedicated at Memphis at about the same time, has reference to the travels of Severus in Egypt,² while he was engaged in the war in the East. It records the laying of a pavement "for the perpetual victory and preservation of our lords the Emperors Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and of Julia Domna Augusta, Mother of the Camp."³ An allusion to the same journey⁴ is found at Rome in the inscription of an altar to Liber, dedicated for the "prosperity and victories" of the whole imperial family, and recording the erection of a shrine of Liber and the dedication of a "little garden" to the nymphs in a place "called Memphi."⁵

Further reference to the Oriental wars of Severus is made by inscriptions from Ostia and Florence. A statue of Nemesis, erected in the temple of Serapis at Ostia by T. Valerius Sere-nus, a *neocoros* of Serapis, who held an office connected with the supply of grain, was dedicated, "for the prosperity, return, and immortality of our lords, the Emperors, Severus and Antoninus and of Julia Augusta, and for a fair voyage for the whole expedition."⁶ The "chief priest of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the new Dionysus," dedicated a tablet at Florence "for the prosperity, victory, and immortality of our lords the Emperors Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adia-

¹ *C.I.L.* III, 6714. The column containing Geta's name has disappeared (Henzen, *Bulletino*, 1883, p. 83); an erased inscription on the column bearing Domna's name recorded the name of the Emperor who built the bridge (*Journal of Hell. Stud.* XVIII, p. 315).

² Spartianus, *Sev.* 17, 4.

³ *C.I.G.* 4701, b; the date assigned in the note is 199 A.D.

⁴ Marini, *Atti Arval*, p. 628, cited by Orelli, 2360.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 461.

⁶ *I.G.I.S.* 917.

benicus Parthicus Maximus and of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and of Lucius Septimius Geta Caesar, and of Julia Augusta, Mother of the Camp, and of the Holy Senate.”¹

While, as inscriptions prove, unusual honor was paid to Julia Domna in all parts of the Empire, her influence and her very life were in danger from an enemy at court. Plautianus, the praetorian prefect, a man who had risen to such distinction in the Empire that he received honors belonging to members of the imperial family,² appears to have been jealous of the Empress. He tried in every way to injure her, and at last persuaded Severus to bring her to trial for adultery,³ a prosecution to which Lampridius probably alludes in his statement that the Empress was tried for treason, since, in accordance with the ruling of the early Empire, adultery in a woman of the imperial family was treason.⁴ The Empress was acquitted, though the prefect had resorted to the extreme expedient of torturing free women⁵ to secure evidence against her.

Her acquittal and the fact that she had proved herself able to repel a direct attack of her enemy made her even more impatient of the prefect's influence over the Emperor, which was quickly regained, and of the choice, in 203 A.D., of Plautilla, daughter of Plautianus, as wife for her son Caracalla.⁶ As under these circumstances court life was distasteful to her, she applied herself to the study of philosophy,⁷ and, no doubt,

¹ *C.I.G.* 6829. This seems to have been dedicated before the year 200, as Severus does not have the triumphal title *Germanicus* which was received in that year (Wirth, *Quaest. Sev.* p. 25).

² Dion Cassius, LXXV, 14. Cf. *C.I.L.* VI, 225-226; *C.I.G.* 5973.

³ Dion Cassius, LXXV, 15.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* II, 50. Laws relating to adultery and treason became more severe under Severus and Antoninus (*Digest*, XLVIII). Penalties for adultery were determined by the rank of the criminal (*ibid.* XLVIII, 5; XXXVIII, 8). Women could appear in trial for treason (*ibid.* XLVIII, 4, 8).

⁵ Slaves might be tortured in a trial for treason (*Codex Just.* IX, 6, Paulus).

⁶ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 1. Plautianus is called *necessarius Augg. et comes per omnes expeditiones eorum* (*C.I.L.* VI, 1074), and *necessarius dd. nn. Augg. Severi et Antonini* (*Not. Scav.* 1893, p. 135).

⁷ Dion Cassius, LXXV, 15.

at the same time made use of every opportunity to increase the hatred which Caracalla felt for his wife and her father.¹

Officially, however, this trouble was ignored, except in that the legends of gold and silver coins express more than the conventional desire for harmony between members of the imperial family. Coins struck in 201 and 202 for Caracalla have on their reverse portraits of Severus and Julia Domna, with the symbols of the Sun and Moon, emblems of eternity, and the legend *CONCORDIAE AETERNAE*.² The same legend, which was new in the time of Severus, appears also, with the usual *CONCORDIA*,³ on coins struck for Plautilla at her marriage.⁴ Inscriptions were dedicated to all members of the "divine house," including Plautilla and often Plautianus, or for their "prosperity," or for their "return and victory." Such offerings are recorded at Rome on an altar consecrated to *Fortuna Augg Augustorum duorum*,⁵ on a tablet to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Defensor Depulsor*,⁶ on pedestals to *Diana*⁷ and to *Isis Regina*,⁸ the last named dedicating a bath erected by Ceius Privatus, *princeps* of the *Castra Perigrinorum*, the barracks of a division of the *frumentarii*. The bronze tablet containing the names of soldiers who, after three years of service as watchmen, were entitled to the rights of citizens, is dedicated directly to Severus, Antoninus, Geta, Julia Augusta, and Plautilla Augusta.⁹ The top of the tablet is adorned with portraits in high relief of Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta.¹⁰ These are among the earliest of the dedications made by *vigiles* and *frumentarii*, the police force, to

¹ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 3.

² Cohen, IV, p. 243.

³ *CONCORDIA* is the usual legend on coins in honor of an imperial marriage; cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, p. 260.

⁴ Cohen, IV, p. 247.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VI, 419.

⁸ *C.I.L.* VI, 354.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 180.

⁷ *Ibid.* VI, 120.

⁹ *Ibid.* VI, 220. Cf. Kellerman, *Latercula Vigilum*, p. 99; De Rossi, *Annal. Inst. Arch.* 1858, p. 283.

¹⁰ Bernoulli (*Ikongraphie*, II, 3, p. 28) leaves the identification of these portraits in doubt. *Effigies Severi, effigies Getae, effigies Antonini* (*C.I.L.* VI, 220, notes). The portraits are not accurate likenesses; the features of the child in the middle are indistinct, but a slight inspection of the tablet proves that neither the woman's head, on the right, nor that of the lad with the wreath, on the left, can be "portrait of Severus."

members of the imperial family, under whose patronage these troops felt themselves to be, after Severus had reorganized their service.¹

Two cippi, dedicated for the whole imperial family to the "Unconquered Hercules" and the "Genius"² of a division of equites singulares, are interesting because they were set up by troops directly under the command of Plautianus. One of these dedications, dated September 13, 202 A.D., is as follows (*C.I.L.* VI, 226):

HERCVLI · INVICTO · SACR
 GENIO · NVM · EQ · SING ·
 AVGG · NN · PRO SALVTE
 IMPP · CESAR · L · SEPTIMI
 SEVERI · ET · M · AVRELI AN
 TONINI · ET GETE CESARI
 ET · IVLIAE · AVG · MATRI
 CASTROR · ET AVGG
 [e]T P[l]AVTILLE [a]VG E[t]
 C · F[u]LVI [Pla]V[tia]NI [p]R
 PR C V T[o]TIVSQVE DO
 MVS DIVINE · ET · TRIB
 OCCIO VALENTE ET · OCTAVIO
 PISONI · ET · Ψ Ψ EXSERC · FL ·
 TITIANO ET · AVREL · LVPO
 C · IVLIVS SECVNDVS
 VEXIL · ERE · SVO DEO · DED ·
 DEDIK³ · IDB · SEPT
 SEVERO III · ET
 ANTONINO · AV
 GG NN COS

¹ *Digest*, I, 12. Cf. fragments of inscriptions dedicated by these troops to the family of Severus (*C.I.L.* VI, 1039-1040).

² *Annali*, 1850, p. 85. *C.I.L.* VI, 226, 227.

³ On the left side of the cippus.

Africa did not fail to honor Plautilla and Plautianus as members of the imperial family. An association at Lambaesis dedicated the tablet which defined their constitution "for the good fortune and preservation of the time of our lords the Augusti," Severus and his sons, and of Julia Augusta, "mother of the Augusti and of the Camp," and of Plautilla Augusta.¹ At Thamugas buildings were dedicated in honor of the whole house.²

Other dedications made during the years 200-204 were occasioned by the general prosperity of the Empire. The establishment of the emporium of Pezus in Thrace, in the year 202, is recorded in a Greek inscription with a prayer "for the victory and immortality of the greatest and most divine Emperors . . . Severus and . . . Antoninus the Augusti and of . . . Geta Caesar and of Julia Domna, Mother of the Camp, and of their whole house and of the sacred senate and the people of Rome and of the sacred armies."³ Pedestals were dedicated at Urzelis⁴ and Cirta,⁵ in Numidia, to Julia Augusta, with all the titles of her husband and sons. Several inscriptions were found to other members of the imperial family, indicating that they were held in special honor in Cirta.⁶ An inscription of Syene, Egypt, is remarkable because of the form in which it gives the date, for Julia Domna is mentioned as if she shared the *imperium* of her husband and sons (*C.I.L.* III, 75):

I · O · M · HAMMONI CHNVBIDI
IVNONI REGINAE QVOR SVB
TVTELA HIC MONS EST · QVOD
PRIMITER · SVB · IMPERIO · P · R ·
FELICISSIMO SAECVLO D · D ·
NN · INVICTOR · IMPP · SEVERI ET
ANTONINI PISSIMORVM · AVGG
ET G[etae nobili]SS[imi Caes et]

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2557.

² *Ibid.* VIII, 2368, 17872.

³ *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 176.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 6340.

⁵ *Ibid.* VIII, 6998.

⁶ *Ibid.* VIII, 6994-7001.

IVLIAE · DOMNAE AVG M · K
 IVXSTA PHILAS NOVAE
 LAPICAEDINAE ADINVEN
 TAE TRACTAEQVE SVNT PARA
 STATICAE ET COLVMNAE
 GRANDES ET MVLTAE SVB
 SVBATIANO AQVIL[*a*] PR
 AEG CVRAM AGENTE OP DOMENIC
 AVREL HERACLID DEC AL MAVR

General peace had brought prosperity to the Empire. The guilds of money changers and merchants about the Forum Boarium showed their gratitude for these conditions by erecting near their place of business a marble arch adorned with portraits in relief of Severus, Julia Domna, and their sons. It still stands near the so-called Janus Quadrifrons, and bears this inscription (*C.I.L.* VI, 1035):

IMP · CAES · L · SEPTIMIO · SEVERO PIO PERTINACI AVG ·
 ARABIC · ADIABENIC PARTH MAX · FORTISSIMO · FELI-
 CISSIMO
 PONTIF MAX TRIB POTEST · XII · IMP · XI · COS · III · PATRI ·
 PATRIAE ET
 IMP · CAES M · AVRELIO ANTONINO PIO FELICI AVG TRIB
 POTEST VII COS III P · P · PROCOS FORTISSIMOQVE
 PRINCIPI ET
 IVLIAE AVG MATRI AVG N ET CASTRORVM ET SENATVS
 ET PATRIAE ET IMP CAES M AVRELI ANTONINI PII
 FELICIS AVG
 PARTHICI · MAXIMI · BRITANNICI MAXIMI ·
 ARGENTARI ET NEGOTIANTES BOARI HVIVS LOCI QVI
 INVEHENT DEVOTI NVMINI EORVM

It is evident that lines 3-6 have been altered, and that the triumphal title of Caracalla has been substituted for Geta's name, while Julia Domna's title is amplified to fill the space made by erasing the names and titles of Plautilla.

The same year 204 A.D. witnessed the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which were supposed to have a special influence on the prosperity and good fortune of the state.¹ In the celebration of these games by earlier Emperors, though the prayer to *Juno Regina* which characterized the ceremonies of the second day was always made by a body of matrons, there is no record that a more honorable part had been given to an Empress than to any other patrician matron. In fact, the name of no Empress, not even of Livia, is preserved in the records of the celebration of these games, before the time of Septimius Severus, but the fragments of the inscriptions describing the secular games as given by this Emperor and his sons indicate that *Julia Domna* had a conspicuous part in the ceremonies of the second day. It seems probable, from the position of their names and the fragmentary context, that the Emperor, standing before the cella of *Juno Regina*, solemnly appointed the Empress, called *Julia Domna, Mater Castrorum, Coniux Augusti*, with the Vestal Virgins, *Numisia Maximilla* and *Terentia Flavola*, and one hundred and ten matrons, to offer a public prayer to *Juno Regina* for a blessing on the Roman people and to preside over the ceremonies which followed the sacrifice to the queen of the gods.²

These ceremonies appear to have marked both a reconciliation between *Julia Domna* and her husband, and the decline of the power of *Plautianus*. The year 205 witnessed his complete ruin, and his death at the hands of *Caracalla*.³ It is clear that the enmity between the Empress and the Emperor's minister had been no secret; for an eye-witness of the murder rushed into *Julia Domna's* presence, exclaiming, "Behold your *Plautianus*," and exhibiting hairs plucked from the fallen prefect's beard.⁴ The divorce and banishment of *Plautilla* followed immediately. *Severus* spared her life, but she was

¹ Zosimus, II, 6; 9, 7, 1.

² Mommsen, *Commentarii dei Ludi secolari*, Tab. E, fr. VI, l. 18; fr. VII, ll. 8, 10. Tab. F, ll. 6-10. Cf. *Eph. Ep.* 1898, p. 284, pt. IV, ll. 8-10.

³ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 3; Spartianus, *Caracalla*, 1, 8.

⁴ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 4.

executed in her place of exile, Lipara, as soon as his death freed Caracalla from restraint.¹

After the death of Plautianus, Julia Domna had no rival in influence with Severus. While it must be admitted that from this time the Emperor's policy was harsher and more arbitrary than before, this was due rather to a tardy conviction that he had been deceived by a friend than, as some have assumed, to the influence of a vindictive Empress.² There were many arrests on charge of treason, especially in Asia.³ An Ephesian inscription mentions Julia Domna, with the Emperor and her sons, as "baffling the murderous hopes of traitors" by "forethought,"⁴ a quality which is ascribed to the Augusta by coins.⁵ It is probable that African inscriptions to different divinities who are styled "preservers" of the imperial family⁶ reflect the official account of the death of Plautianus and subsequent executions. In one case, at least, a "plot" has been "detected."⁷

The philosophy in which Julia Domna found solace during her persecution proved to have for her more than a passing interest, for after her enemy's death she continued to be both a student and a patron of learning, and became the centre of a little court made up of philosophers and rhetors,⁸ of which Philostratus, her secretary,⁹ has left some slight account. In a letter written in defence of rhetors and addressed to Julia Augusta, he compliments, in the highest terms, her understanding and learning.¹⁰ It appears that she was interested in magic also, for, at her bidding, Philostratus wrote the life of Apollonius of Tyana,¹¹ the Pythagorean philosopher-magician. Among these courtiers there could probably have been found Dion Cassius, whose account of her is always favorable, and

¹ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 6. Herodian, III, 13, 3.

² Boisseau, *Inscript. Lyon.* p. 541.

⁵ Cohen, IV, n. 163.

³ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 7.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VIII, 12209, 1628, 14454.

⁴ *C.I.L.* III, 427 = *C.I.G.* 2971.

⁷ *Ibid.* VIII, 1628.

⁸ Philostratus, *Apol. Tyan.* I, 1; *Philiscus*, 2, 30.

⁹ Tzetzes, *Chil.* VI, 1303, quoted by Eckhel, VII, *Life of Julia Domna.*

¹⁰ Philostratus, *Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ*.

¹¹ Philostratus, *Apol. Tyan.* I, 1.

Oppian the poet, who had, several years before, dedicated his "Cynegetica" to "Antoninus whom the great Domna did bear to great Severus."¹

As peace was long continued, Rome, as well as the provincial cities, became every day more magnificent. The Empress and the Emperor² restored buildings which had fallen into decay, or had been destroyed by fire under Commodus.³ Among the latter was the temple of Vesta, rebuilt by Julia Domna herself, as we are informed by many coins.⁴ One of them, a silver medal, bears on its face, with the legend IVLIA AUGUSTA, a portrait of the Empress holding a statuette of Concordia in one hand and a cornucopia in the other; the reverse presents "six Vestals sacrificing before the new temple," with the legend VESTA MATER. She also restored a structure in Trajan's Forum dedicated originally by Sabina for the use of the *Matronae*, possibly an assembly of matrons corresponding to the *Senaculum* which existed on the Quirinal⁵ in the time of Elagabalus.

The inscriptions of buildings erected or restored in several African towns before the year 208⁶ mention Julia Domna in dedications for the prosperity of the imperial house. A temple of Silvanus⁷ and baths⁸ were repaired at Lambaesis, baths⁹ and a portico¹⁰ at Siala, and a temple¹¹ at Bibae in Provincia Proconsularis, and buildings for unknown purposes in towns of Byzacium.⁶ There were other dedications to members of the

¹ Oppian, *Cynegetica*, I, 3.

² Cf. inscriptions of the Pantheon, Porticus Octaviae, etc.

³ Herodian, I, 14.

⁴ *Not. Scav.* 1883, p. 477, Tav. XIX, d; cf. Cohen, IV, n. 140, 234-244.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 997 (Mommsen); cf. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 4, 3.

⁶ These inscriptions contain the names of Severus and Antoninus "Augusti" and of Geta "Caesar." As the names of Plautianus and Plautilla do not appear, it is assumed that the dedications were not made between the years 202 and 205, in which Plautilla was Augusta; and, as Geta was not yet Augustus, they were not made after 208, in which year he became Augustus. Therefore these structures were dedicated 198-202 or 205-207.

⁷ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2671.

⁸ *Ibid.* VIII, 2706.

⁹ *Ibid.* VIII, 14457.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.* VIII, 588, 11731.

¹¹ *Ibid.* VIII, 906.

¹² *Ibid.* VIII, 12142, 14813.

imperial house made during the same period,—a statue of Mercurius Augustus dedicated with games by a newly appointed augur¹ at Thamugas, a tablet dedicated by *custodes armorum* at Lambaesis,² an offering to Neptune in Arada,³ and other gifts in the Numidian towns of Gurgus⁴ and Varzavi.⁵

In other parts of the Empire, also, dedications were made to the Empress herself or “for the prosperity” of all members of the imperial family. Julia Domna’s name appears on one of three tablets⁶ found in the Graean Alps, the companion tablets being dedicated to Severus and Antoninus; on a tablet dedicated by Helvetians;⁷ on a dedication made by Laurentes Lavinates⁸ at Rome; and on an inscription in the great theatre of Ephesus.⁹ It appears with the names of other members of her family on a tablet referring to mysteries celebrated at Puteoli,¹⁰ and on a dedication¹¹ from Abia in Phrygia.

Individuals or corporations, at all times, manifested their loyalty to the imperial house by erecting statues of its members, as well as by the dedication of buildings or of honorary tablets. Statues¹² of Julia Domna were dedicated at Villa Magna, in Provincia Proconsularis by Victor and Fortunatus *ob honorem flaminii perpetui*;¹³ at Biniana,¹⁴ Byzacium, set up by the town in company with statues of Liber Pater and of Severus; at Phua,¹⁵ Numidia, by the town; at Gaulus,¹⁶ by the town as one of a series of portraits of members of imperial families, set up during the first four centuries of the Empire; at Caparra,¹⁷ Spain, erected by the town council; at Beneventum,¹⁸ by the town. Greek inscriptions indicate that statues of the Empress were

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 17837.

³ *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 173.

² *Rev. Arch.* XXXVIII, p. 140.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 15776.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VIII, 17638; cf. also *Rev. Arch.* XXXVIII, p. 321, n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* XII, 5709.

⁹ *C.I.L.* III, 6701.

⁷ Orelli, 361.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* X, 1585.

⁸ *C.I.L.* VI, 1047.

¹¹ *C.I.G.* add. 3857, d.

¹² The statue of the Empress is not preserved in any case cited. The fact of its erection is determined by the statement of the inscription or the form or surroundings of the monument on which it occurs.

¹³ *C.I.L.* VIII, 885.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* VIII, 75.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* VIII, 6306. This is a large marble basis bearing the date 205.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* X, 7502.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* II, 810.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* IX, 2165.

dedicated by the town Hermione¹ in Argolis, by the city of Samos,² and by the city council of Ephesus.³

Other inscriptions, which give no clew to the circumstances which occasioned their erection, contain simply Julia Domna's name and title, sometimes with the name of the dedicator; in other cases the inscriptions are mere fragments, barely preserving the name of the Empress.⁴ The following inscription from Axiopolis, in Moesia, will serve as an example of inscriptions found in Dalmatia⁵ and Moesia⁶ (*C.I.L.* III, 7485):

[I]VLIAE DO
MNAE AV[g]
[m]ATRI CA[s]
[t]RORVM
[n]AVTAE VN[i]
[ve]RSI DAN[u]
[vi] EX R P [sua]
SVB CVRA L I[ul]
FAVSTINIANI
LEG AVG N N

In several of the inscriptions mentioned above, Julia Domna is called "Mother of Augustus"⁷ or "Mother of Antoninus Augustus and of Geta Caesar,"⁸ as if her chief claim to honor, in addition to the fact that she was wife of the Emperor, was that she had borne heirs to the Empire. It appears, also, that her sons were described as "sons of Severus and of Julia Augusta,"⁹ a title which is of especial interest in contrast to the usage of the early Empire,¹⁰ for no Empress before Julia Domna was mentioned in dedicatory inscriptions as ancestress

¹ *C.I.G.* 1216.

² *C.I.G.S.* III, 1007. The genuineness of this inscription in doubt.

³ *C.I.G.* 2972.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VI, 2837; VIII, 1017, 1217, 8477, 12031, 14813. *Not. Scav.* 1896, p. 11. *Rev. Arch.* XXXII, p. 467, n. 71.

⁵ *C.I.L.* III, 1686, 3119, 4054, 7513.

⁶ *Ibid.* III, 7485.

⁸ *E.g.* *C.I.L.* II, 810.

⁷ *E.g. ibid.* IX, 2165.

⁹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 9035, 17871. *C.I.G.* 1075.

¹⁰ Tiberius refused the appellation "Juliae filius" (*Tac. Ann.* I, 14).

of an Emperor.¹ An inscription from Megara, on a statue of Caracalla, is as follows (*C.I.G.* 1075):

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντων[εῖνον]
 Σεβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λ. Σεπ[τιμίου]
 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστο[ῦ Ἀρα-]
 βικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Ἰου[λίας]
 Σεβαστῆς Μητρὸς Στρατοπέδων ὑὸν ἡ πόλ[ις]
 ἡ Μεγαρέων τὸν εὐεργέτην.

On Julia Domna's coins few legends and designs appear as new, because, as a rule, in the time of Severus, legends and designs were no longer invented; those used by preceding Emperors being adapted to existing circumstances.² Several legends which had not previously appeared on coins of an Empress have reference to the coinage and to imperial largesses. Where the face of the coin bears the name and portrait of the Empress, the reverse presents the legend *AEQVITAS AVG* and the design "Aequitas holding a horn of plenty,"³ *AEQVITAS AVGG*⁴ or *AEQVITAS PVBLICA*,⁵ with the design which had been put upon coins of the Emperor from Hadrian's time, "Three Monetae standing, each holding a balance and a cornucopia; at their feet heaps of metal."⁶ More significant than these are coins bearing on the reverse *LIBERAL AVG*, with the design "Liberalitas standing"; for this legend implies that Julia Domna distributed money stamped with her own name, as if she had a real share in the sovereignty, while before her time such gifts had been confined to Emperors.⁶ Julia Domna's coins present, also, the legend *FOR-TVNAE REDVCI*.⁷ From the time of Augustus, whenever an

¹ The young sons of Marcus Aurelius were called "sons of Antoninus and of Faustina" on sepulchral inscriptions (*C.I.L.* VI, 944, etc.) from Hadrian's mausoleum; and on the basis of a statue, Annius Verus Caesar (who died in 170; Momm. *Hermes*, VIII, 206) is styled "Imp. Caesaris M. Aureli Antonini Aug. . . et Faustinae Aug. filius" (*C.I.L.* VIII, 11323).

² Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* VII, 6166.

⁴ Cohen, IV, p. 105, n. 3.

³ Cohen, IV, p. 105, n. 1-2.

⁵ *Ibid.* IV, p. 105, n. 4.

⁶ Eckhel, VII, 6167. This design referred to the coinage and to imperial gifts (Cohen, IV, n. 103).

⁷ Cohen, IV, n. 64-68. This legend is found on a hybrid coin of Lucilla.

Emperor returned to Rome, after a victory, an altar was erected to *Fortuna Redux*, the patroness of a prosperous journey.¹ Her name is found on coins of Emperors from Vespasian's time, but Julia Domna is the first Empress so honored. The honor is connected, probably, with the title *Mater Castrorum*, in virtue of which the Empress's sojourn in camp during a campaign had an official significance. In many inscriptions already cited, prayer is made for the "return" and "victory" of Julia Domna,² as well as of Severus and his sons, the actual commanders of the army.

Several legends have a distinct reference to the prosperous condition of the Empire. *SECVRITAS IMPERI*³ is found only on the coins of this Empress and of her son, Geta. Again, Julia Domna is represented as herself the personification of "Fortuna Felix," where "Fortuna, with the features of Julia Domna, sits holding a horn of plenty; before her stands an infant."⁴ The legends *SAECVLI FELICITAS* and *FELICITAS PVBLICA*⁵ have the portrait of Severus on the face of the coin, and of Julia Domna and her sons on the reverse. *HILARITAS*⁶ and *FELICITAS* or *FELICITAS AVGG*⁷ have a similar reference. The legend *AETERNITAS IMPERI*,⁸ which appears first on coins of Severus and his family, seems to refer to the fact that there were two sons to perpetuate the imperial line. In the most interesting of these coins the face bears the legend *IVLIA AVGVSTA*, with a portrait of the Empress; and the reverse, *AETERNIT IMPERI*, with portraits of Caracalla and Geta, both as children.⁹ The most sig-

¹ Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, pp. 187-188.

² "For perpetual victory and immortality" (*C.I.G.* 3956, b; 4701, b; cf. *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 176), "for prosperity, return, and immortality" (*C.I.G.* 5973, also *C.I.L.* VI, 225, 227, 461, 738, 3786. Dessau, 433. *C.I.L.* VII, 226; III, 138, 7836. *I.G.S.I.* 922).

³ Cohen, IV, n. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV, n. 201. *FORTVNAE FELICI*, with a different design, is found first on coins of Didia Clara (*ibid.* III, p. 403).

⁵ *Ibid.* IV, p. 111, n. 174-177; p. 100, n. 4, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* IV, n. 71-73.

⁷ *Ibid.* IV, p. 110. *HILARITAS* and *FELICITAS* occur on coins of younger Faustina (*ibid.* III, 6145).

⁸ *Ibid.* VIII, pp. 361-362, list of these coins.

⁹ *Ibid.* IV, p. 100.

nificant design introduced on Roman coins in honor of an Empress is found on the coins already alluded to in connection with the marriage of Caracalla. The legend is *CONCORDIA AETERNAE*, with busts of Severus and of Julia Domna; the former wearing the spiked crown, the latter resting upon a crescent moon.¹ According to Eckhel these ornaments either identify the Emperor and Empress with the sun and moon, or express the wish that they, like the sun and moon, may be eternal.² The Roman Emperor had been represented with the spiked crown from the time of Nero, but the crescent had not been attributed to an Empress on coins struck in Rome before Julia Domna's time. The design is borrowed from coins of the Arsacidae, who called themselves brothers of the sun and moon.³ In these the sun and moon are both placed in connection with the king's portrait, but on Roman coins these honors are divided between Severus and Julia Domna.

Of portraits of Julia Domna, together with other members of the imperial family, which were made during the reign of Severus, only three can be identified with reasonable certainty. These are the mutilated reliefs of the arch of the Forum Boarium, the little heads on a tablet dedicated by the Watch,—now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome,—and a sardonyx cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles⁴ in Paris. In the first, Severus and Julia Domna stand before an altar, at which the Emperor is making an offering; both have their heads covered by drapery. Julia Domna appears as a woman of much dignity, somewhat taller than her husband, who stands a little in advance of her, at her right. It is difficult to see any trace of beauty in her round face, of a Semitic type, even after making due allowance for all mutilation. On the opposite side of the arch were portraits of Caracalla and Geta, but the latter has been effaced. On the cameo, Julia Domna and Severus, in profile, face their

¹ Cohen, IV, p. 243; cf. Eckhel, VII, pp. 181, 423.

² Eckhel, III, pp. 362, 545.

³ *Ibid.* VI, pp. 362, 545.

⁴ Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* II, 3, pp. 28 ff.

sons, also presented in profile. All of these portraits were made soon after the beginning of the third century; they represent Caracalla and Geta as young boys. There are many portraits of the Empress, the most notable being the colossal bust of the Rotunda of the Vatican, "the largest extant female portrait of the Graeco-Roman period."¹ This bust, which represents the idealized Empress² as possessed of great charm, corresponds with the portraits on her earlier coins.

In the year 208 Julia Domna accompanied her husband and sons on an expedition against the Britons, a war which Severus, though in feeble health, conducted in person, in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation between his sons, whose open hatred of one another was a constant source of anxiety.³ It is probable that the Empress remained in York during the war, and occupied her leisure by studying the new races brought to her notice, as Dion Cassius mentions an interview with a captive Caledonian woman who answered the Empress's criticism of British civilization by a scathing comment on the state of morals in Rome.⁴ She attempted to make peace in her own family by obtaining for her younger son honor equal to his brother's; according to common report her son Geta, who was made Augustus in the year 209, obtained his rank at his mother's intercession.⁵ Coins struck in honor of Geta's *imperium* have, on the face, the name and portrait of the Empress; on the reverse, MATER AVGG, with a design representing Julia Domna as Cybele drawn by four lions.⁶ General interest in the welfare of the imperial family was made manifest by many inscriptions which record prayers for their prosperity, return, and victory.

In 207 at Casa in Numidia, troops detailed for special duty erected altars to Juppiter Optimus Maximus and the Nymphs "for the prosperity" of Severus, Julia Domna, and their sons.⁷

¹ Helbig, *Antiquities*, I, p. 220.

² Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* II, 3, pp. 40-42.

³ Herodian, III, 14; Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 11; Spartianus, *Sev.* 18.

⁴ Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 16.

⁵ Spartianus, *Geta*, 5.

⁶ Cohen, IV, n. 116-119; cf. Eckhel, VII, p. 196.

⁷ *C.I.L.* VIII, 4322-4323.

A triumphal arch was erected at Vaga, in Byzacium, and dedicated to the *numen augustum* of the whole imperial family by citizens who acknowledged with gratitude the imperial favor shown in establishing the Colonia Septimia Vaga.¹ In the years 208 and 209 other offerings were made, as follows: tablets at Runiero,² in Moesia, and Narona,³ Dalmatia, to Juppiter Optimus Maximus "for the prosperity" of Severus, his sons, and of Julia Augusta; a tablet at Grosskrotzenburg, dedicated "for the prosperity, victory, and return of the three emperors" and of "Julia Domna Augusta, Mother of the Augusti and of the Camp";⁴ at Rome a tablet, by *calatores*, to Julia Augusta, Mother of the Augusti and the Camp,⁵ and a "shrine with a god," dedicated by praetorians to Severus "for the prosperity and return" of Severus, Antoninus, Julia Domna, and the "divine house and also of the praetorian cohorts and for their victories";⁶ and a tablet dedicated for the same purpose by the *equites singulares*.⁷

At Colossae, in Phrygia, baths were dedicated "for the prosperity and victory and immortality of our lords and unconquered Emperors," Severus, Antoninus, and Geta, and "of the new Roman Hera and the whole divine house of the Augusti and the holy senate and the people of Rome."⁸ Certain magistrates of Sitifis, in Mauretania, erected *ob honorem aedilitatis* a basis "to the Victory of the three unconquered Augusti and of Julia Augusta, Mother of Caesar and of the Camp, and of their whole divine house."⁹ A hint that the trouble between the brothers was well known in the provinces is to be found in the inscriptions of statues dedicated at Thamugas, the one "to Mars Augustus, preserver of our three lords the Emperors . . . and of Julia Domna,"¹⁰ the other "to the Concord of the three Augusti . . . and of Julia Augusta."¹¹ An offering was

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 14395.

² *Ibid.* III, 8185.

³ *Ibid.* III, 1780.

⁴ Dessau, 433.

⁵ *Rev. Arch.* XXXVII, p. 362.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VI, 738.

⁷ *C.I.L.* VI, 3768.

⁸ *C.I.G.* 3956.

⁹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 8455.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* VIII, 17835.

¹¹ *Ibid.* VIII, 17829.

made at the temple of Aesculapius, in Lambaesis, in honor of the three Augusti and of Julia Domna.¹

Severus died in York in 211, leaving the Empire to both sons, in spite of his knowledge that all efforts had failed to reconcile them to each other.² The princes made a hasty settlement of affairs in Britain, and with their mother carried the Emperor's ashes to Rome.³ As the temper of the new Emperors caused a general expectation of trouble, sacrifices were offered to all the gods, but especially to Concordia.⁴ The brothers made some pretence of agreement, for a gold coin was struck with the legend CONCORDIA FELIX and a design representing Caracalla and Geta clasping hands in the presence of Julia Domna.⁵

The Empress made every effort to fulfil the office of peace-maker suggested by the coins. Failing in this, she tried to protect Geta from his brother; for it soon became evident that Caracalla, who had assumed the supremacy, purposed to destroy all who opposed him. The protests of their councillors and of the soldiers were either disregarded or punished.⁶ Herodian states that the council formulated a plan for the division of the Empire between the brothers, as the only tolerable solution of the problem, but that the plan failed because of the opposition of Julia Domna.⁷ As the proposition is mentioned by no other authority, it is generally believed that the scheme, as the rhetor-historian elaborates it, is a creation of his own,⁸ but there is no reason to doubt that plans for securing the peace of the Empire were discussed by the Emperor's councillors and that no scheme of the kind could succeed without the indorsement of the powerful Julia Domna.

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2585.

² Dion Cassius, LXXVI, 15; Herodian, III, 15, 3; Spartianus, *Sev.* 19, 1.

³ Herodian, IV, 1.

⁴ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 1; cf. Cohen, IV, p. 115, n. 21-22.

⁵ Cohen, IV, n. 24. Other coins represent the brothers each crowned by a Victory, and clasping hands.

⁶ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 2. Herodian, IV, 3-4. Spartianus, *Carac.* 2, 4; *Geta*, 6, 4.

⁷ Herodian, IV, 3-4.

⁸ Cf. Herzog, *Gesch. und System*, II, p. 473, etc.; Duruy, *Hist. Rom.* VI, p. 240.

With reference to her office as mediator between her sons, coins of gold and silver bore a new amplification of her title. The face bears the legend IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG; the reverse, the legend MATER AVGG, MATER SEN M PATR (*Mater Augustorum Duorum Mater Senatus Mater Patriae*) and the design, Julia Domna seated or standing with a branch of olive and a sceptre in her hands.¹

A few inscriptions mention the young Emperors with their mother: an altar from Abusina, in Raetia, dedicated to "our lords the Emperors, . . . Julia Augusta, . . . Juppiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, and the Genius of Coh. III Brit.";² an altar found near Salisbury, England, containing a dedication "for the prosperity and victory" of the Emperors and their mother;³ and a tablet from Volusinii, bearing the names of Julia Augusta and Caracalla,⁴ probably dedicated with a similar tablet to Geta.

In the following year, Julia Domna was forced to witness the murder of her second son. Caracalla, pretending to be ready for a reconciliation, persuaded his mother to invite him, with Geta, to an interview in her apartments. No sooner had Geta entered the room than centurions, concealed previously, rushed out to attack him. He threw himself on his mother for protection, crying, "Mother, mother, help, I am stabbed!" Her own exertion on his behalf was of no avail, for the centurion wounded the hand with which she tried to protect her son. Geta was killed in her arms.⁵ The murder was followed by execration of the memory of the dead prince; his name was erased from all inscriptions,⁶ his coins, so far as possible, were melted, his portraits were mutilated, and all mention of his name was construed as treason.⁷ The names of Plautianus and

¹ Cohen, IV, n. 110, 115. There is no record that this title was conferred by Senate or Army.

² *C.I.L.* III, 5935.

³ *Ibid.* VII, 226.

⁴ *Ibid.* XI, 2696, dated 211 A.D.

⁵ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 2; Herodian, IV, 5; Spartianus, *Carac.* 2-4; Zosimus, I, 9, 4.

⁶ Geta's name has been wholly or partially erased from all inscriptions that are cited as referring to him, except *C.I.G.* 3956, b.

⁷ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 12.

Plautilla were apparently erased at the same time. Inscriptions were restored, to suit the circumstances, by the substitution of Caracalla's triumphal titles for his brother's name, and the new amplification of Julia Domna's title for Plautilla's name.¹

At this time, Julia Domna's title received its final form. During the earlier part of her husband's reign she had been officially styled on inscriptions, *Iulia Domna Augusta, Mater Augusti et Castrorum*. In the inscription describing the secular games she was styled *Iulia Augusta, Mater Castrorum Coniux Augusti*,² and *Iulia Augusta, Mater Castrorum Reique Publicae*.³ On coins she had very early been named *Iulia Augusta* and *Iulia Pia Felix Augusta*. After Geta had been promoted to the *imperium* she was styled on coins, *Iulia Pia*⁴ *Felix Augusta, Mater Augustorum duorum, Mater Senatus*,⁵ *Mater Patriae*.⁶ After the death of Geta her official title, used by the Arval Brotherhood, and by imperial order to fill the space caused by erasing Plautilla's name, was *Iulia Pia Felix Augusta, Mater Augusti et Castrorum et Senatus et Patriae*. She was addressed

¹ There is one apparent exception to this statement (*C.I.L.* VI, 3401), where Julia Domna has all her titles on an inscription erected before Geta's death. The inscription, however, is preserved only in a copy (*l.c.* notes), and merely fails to indicate that the title is written in an erasure of Plautilla's name.

² *Eph. Ep.* 1898, p. 284, pt. IV, l. 9.

³ *Ibid.* pt. III, ll. 9-10.

⁴ *Pia* first occurs on an imperial inscription as an epithet of Julia Titi f. (*C.I.L.* IX, 1153), "Divae Iuliae Piae." The term is used in this case, as often in the case of private individuals, to show that she had "scrupulously and promptly performed all duties to the gods, her relatives, and friends" (Eckhel, VIII, p. 453, 'Pius'). Faustina Junior, after death, was called *Diva Faustina Pia* (Cohen, III, p. 141. *C.I.L.* VI, 1019, 1540, etc.). The *Pia* is apparently derived from her father's name, Pius. Commodus styled himself Pius Felix (*Commodus*, VIII, 1, 2). Severus borrowed both epithets for his son when he proclaimed himself son of Marcus Aurelius, and from Caracalla they were transferred to Julia Domna.

⁵ The title *Pater Senatus*, refused by Claudius (*Tac. Ann.* XI, 25), was assumed by Commodus (Cohen, III, p. 280, n. 396 ff.). Neither Severus nor his sons adopted it, but *Mater Senatus* seems to have been formed on the analogy of Commodus's title.

⁶ *Mater Patriae*, refused for Livia by Tiberius (*Tac. Ann.* I, 14); it was used, however, on African coins (Dion Cassius, VI, 47. Cohen, I, p. 165, n. 807; p. 207, n. 203). No other Empress, before Julia Domna, assumed the title.

also as *domina*,¹ as the Emperor was *dominus*. Though the Empress was not permitted to make any sign of mourning for her son,² she did not succeed in concealing her sorrow, for Cornificia, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and therefore adopted sister of Severus, dared to express sympathy for her bereavement. This implied criticism of Caracalla and furnished him with a convenient pretext for destroying a possible claimant to the Empire.³ Cornificia was condemned to death as a traitor and died with a dignity becoming the daughter of a philosopher.⁴

Inscriptions of 212 A.D. found in Verecunda, in Numidia, give expression to the official view of the situation, that Caracalla and his mother had been preserved from great danger and might now live in peace and prosperity. Their purport is as follows:

"To Juppiter Optimus Maximus the Preserver of the Emperor . . . Antoninus, . . . and of Julia Augusta, Mother of Augustus and of the Camp and of the Senate and of her Country,"⁵ and to Juno Concordia Augusta, for the prosperity of Caracalla and Julia Domna.⁶ This altar and pedestal were dedicated by members of the Propertius family because of the priesthood to which one of them had been appointed. A tablet dedicated on the birthday⁷ of Severus by members of the Watch, "for the prosperity and preservation from harm"⁸ of Caracalla and of Julia Augusta, proves that the soldiers were not slow to accept the situation. There is nothing to indicate the date of the following inscriptions, but as they refer to an escape from danger it seems probable that they were erected after Geta's death. The first, a dedication to Juppiter Optimus Maximus, the "Preserver of Antoninus . . . and of Julia

¹ Wilmanns, *Exempla*, 1737; *C.I.L.* VI, 1070, 2149. A woman who did not have the title Augusta might be styled *domina*: e.g. Fronto calls the mother of Marcus Aurelius *domina* (Fronto, *Ad Marc. Caes.* II, 21, 24, etc.).

² Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 2.

³ Herodian, IV, 6. Spartianus, *Carac.* 3, 8, 8, 4, 8; *Geta*, 6, 6.

⁴ Dion Cassius, *Excerpta Vat. Mai.* n. 114.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VIII, 4196.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VIII, 4197.

⁷ III Id. Apr.

⁸ *C.I.L.* VI, 1063.

Augusta," was found at Lambaesis.¹ The second, on a drum-shaped marble found at Rome, is as follows (*C.I.L.* VI, 1070):

• SAL • VIS •
DOM • NIS •
NN • ANTO
NI • NO • AVG • ET • IV • LI • A •
PIA FE • LIX • RV • FI • NVS • ET • LVPERCILLA²

Inscriptions indicate that in the year 212, after Geta's death, a priest of Mercury at Sarra, in Byzacium, dedicated a temple to *Mercurius Sobrius* "for the prosperity of Antoninus," and of "Julia Augusta, Pia Felix, Mother of Augustus and of the Camp, and of the Senate, and of the whole divine house," and that a feast and games were given at the time of its completion, while a second priest dedicated in the same way the arch giving entrance to the precinct of the temple and statues of Mercury and of Severus.³ The epithets *pia felix* occur here for the first time in dated inscriptions, though they had been in use upon coins for several years.

In the year 213, inscriptions made use of this amplified title at a castellum of the Provincia Proconsularis, opposite the modern town of Nibber,⁴ and at Ferentinum.⁵

The "divine house" now included only the Emperor and Julia Domna, who was associated with him in honors to an extent which has no parallel. A remarkable indication of this fact is found in an Arval inscription, which contains the record of the sacred rites of the Dea Dia, as celebrated by that brotherhood on the 20th of May, 213. After the feasts, which were a necessary part of their ceremonials, it was customary to make *acclamationes* in honor of the Emperor.⁶ Though the names of women of imperial families, from Livia to Tranquillina, are included in Arval records, no other

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2619.

² The lettering and punctuation are unusual.

³ *C.I.L.* VIII, 12006-12007; cf. *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 487.

⁴ *Ibid.* VIII, 15722. Date given by accompanying inscription to Caracalla.

⁵ *Ibid.* X, 5826. Date given by accompanying inscription to Caracalla.

⁶ Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 45.

Augusta is mentioned as honored with an *acclamatio*. It was offered after the banquet, in the following form (*C.I.L.* VI, 2086, l. 16):

FE[*li*]CISSIME FELICISSIME TE SALVO ET VICTORE FELI-
 CISSIME O NOS FELICES QVI TE IMP(*eratorem*) VIDEMVS
 DE NOSTRIS ANN(*is*) AVG(*eat*) T(*ibi*) I(*uppiter*) A(*nnos*)
 GERMANICE MAX(*ime*) D(*i*) T(*e*) S(*ervent*) BRIT(*annice*)
 MAX(*ime*) D(*i*) T(*e*) S(*ervent*) TE SALVO SALVI ET SECVRI
 SVMVS TE IMP(*eratore*) FELIX SENATVS AVG(*uste*) D(*i*)
 T(*e*) S(*ervent*) IVVENIS TRIVMPHIS SENEX IMP(*erator*)²
 MAIOR AVG(*usto*) D(*i*) T(*e*) S(*ervent*) AVG(*uste*) AVG(*usta*)
 IVLIAE AVG(*ustae*) MATRI AVG(*usti*) FELICITER EX TE
 AVG(*usta*) AVG(*ustum*) VIDEMVS D(*i*) T(*e*) S(*ervent*) IN
 PERPETVO AVG(*usta*) AVG(*uste*)

The sacrifice of October 6, of the same year, was made because Julia Domna, as well as Antoninus, had been victorious in Germany. The account is as follows (*C.I.L.* VI, 2086, l. 23):

ISDEM COS
 PR NON OCT IN CAPITOLIO ANTE CELLAM IVNONIS
 REG(*inae*) OB
 SALVTE(*m*) VICTORIAMQVE GERMANICAM IMP(*eratoris*)
 CAES(*aris*)
 M(*arci*) AVRELLI ANTO
 NINI PII FELIC(*is*) AVG(*usti*) PAR(*thici*) MAX(*imi*) BRIT(*annici*)
 MAX(*imi*)
 GERMANICI MAX(*imi*) PONT(*ificis*) MAX(*imi*) TRIB(*uniciae*)
 POTE
 ST(*atis*) XVI IMP III COS IIII PROCOS ET IVLIAE AVG(*ustae*)

¹ Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 196.

² Caracalla had been Augustus since 198 A.D. (Wirth, *Quaest. Sev.* p. 31. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*², II, 799). He had held *tribunica potestas* from December 10, 197. The triumphal titles which he had borne previous to 207 A.D. had been borrowed from Severus. His actual military experience began with the war in Britain (Wirth, *Quaest. Sev.* p. 26).

PIAE FEL(*icis*) M(*atris*) IMP(*eratoris*) ANTONINI AVG(*usti*)
M(*atris*) SE
NATVS CASTRORVM ET PATRIAE FRATRES ARVALES
CO[n]VENERVNT ET
IMMOLAVERVNT PER L·ARMENIVM PERIGRINVM PRO
MAG(*istro*) VICE FLAVI ALPINI MAG(*istri*) COLLEGI
FRATRVM ARVALIVM I(*ovi*) O(*ptimo*) M(*aximo*) B(*ovem*)
M(*arem*) A(*uratum*) IVNONI REG(*inae*) BOV(*em*) F(*eminam*)
A(*uratam*) MINERVAE B(*ovem*) F(*eminam*)
A(*uratam*) SALVTI PVB(*licae*) B(*ovem*) F(*eminam*) A(*uratam*)
MARTI
VLTORI TAVRVM A(*uratam*) IOVI VICTORI B(*ovem*) M(*arem*)
A(*uratam*)
ET VICTORIAE B(*ovem*) F(*eminam*) A(*uratam*) LARIBVS
MILITARIBVS TAVRVM ALBVM FORTVNAE REDVCI
B(*ovem*) F(*eminam*) A(*uratam*)
GENIO IMP(*eratoris*) ANTONINI AVG(*usti*) N(*ostri*) TAVRVM
ALBVM
IVNONI¹ IVLIAE PIAE MATRIS ANTONINI AVG(*usti*) N(*ostri*)
SENATVS CASTR(*orum*) ET PA
TR(*iae*) B(*ovem*) F(*eminam*) A(*uratam*) ADFVERVNT CN·
CATILIVS SEVERVS T STATILIVS SILANVS

It is worthy of note in this matter that the Juno—guardian divinity of the Empress, as well as the Genius of the Emperor—is reckoned among the deities who have brought glory and success to the Roman people. In other records of meetings of this fraternity during the reign of Caracalla, there is always mention of Julia Domna, with all her titles.² It is, perhaps, significant that the presiding officer of the brotherhood on these occasions is M. Julius Gessius Bassianus, probably a kinsman of the Empress.³ There is a record also, in Germany, on a tablet at

¹ The first offering of Arval Brotherhood to the “Juno” of an Empress, was made to the Juno of Poppaea, 63 A.D. (Henzen, *Acta Fr. Arv.* p. 79).

² *C.I.L.* VI, 2103, A, l. 9; B, ll. 10 and 11. 214 A.D.

³ Her father was Julius Bassianus of Emesa (see above, p. 260).

Meimsheim, that Julia Domna accompanied her son on the expedition against Raetia¹ (Henzen, 5507):

IMP · CAES · M · A[ur · Anton]
 PIO · FEL · [augusto]
 GERM PON MAXIM
 ET IVLIAE AVG · MATRI
 CASTRORVM
 OB VICTORIAM
 GERMANICAM

During the remaining years of Julia Domna's life she spent little time in Rome. After the expedition to Raetia,² the Emperor travelled through Thrace³ and crossed to Asia. After a perilous journey⁴—in which Caracalla, and probably Julia, had a narrow escape from shipwreck — mother and son came to Nicomedia.⁵ This city proved a congenial place of residence, for it was devoted to the worship of Severus and his house, and had already, in 208, erected statues to Julia Domna and Caracalla.⁶

In Asia, Julia Augusta began to act as her son's chief minister, both at Nicomedia and after they had removed their court to Antioch. All documents and letters, except those of the highest importance, were presented to her instead of to the Emperor.⁷ When he was absent in the field, all matters passed through her hands, and nothing which she could settle was referred to the Emperor. She had, too, a praetorian guard and a retinue worthy of an Empress.⁸ In fact, the relations between mother and son were so confidential that, in parts of the Empire, the charges made by Plautianus against Julia

¹ *Bulletino*, 1838, p. 164 (Borghesi).

² Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 14. *C.I.L.* VI, 2086, 2103.

³ Spartianus, *Carac.* 5, 8.

⁴ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 16.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 2103, l. 9. Henzen, *Acta Fr. Arr.* p. 86. Though Caracalla alone is said to "have been saved from danger," sacrifice is offered also to *Iunoni Iuliae Augustae*.

⁶ *C.I.G.* 3771. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, p. 452.

⁷ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 18–20.

⁸ *Ibid.* LXXVIII, 4, 23.

Domna were revived; and in the scurrilous abuse of the Alexandrians she was "Iocasta," and Caracalla "Oedipus,"—a jest for which they paid a dreadful penalty, if we may trust Herodian.¹ This charge was preserved by their contemporaries and was handed down by tradition, and so amplified and distorted that the biographer of Caracalla, a century later, represents the elderly Empress as a beautiful young stepmother who became mistress, if not wife, of her imperial stepson.²

On the other side, Dion Cassius, her contemporary, who was by no means an admirer of Caracalla, does not hint at such a charge, though he believes that the Emperor owed his worst characteristics—cunning and malice—to his Syrian inheritance.³ As Caracalla left the irksome details of administration to his mother,⁴ it was natural that the more conservative element in the Empire should have had hope of reaching the Emperor through her. It is possible that she may have been regarded as a leader of the conservative party in the Empire. She remained, still, a patron of learning; for Philostratus says that she prevailed upon Caracalla to grant a professorship in Athens to the needy Thessalian philosopher, Philiscus, who had found in her circle of literary men a refuge from persecution in Macedonia.⁵

Julia Domna's influence had little effect on Caracalla's general policy; for when she remonstrated with him for his extravagant gifts to the soldiers, with the words, "Every means of raising a revenue, just and unjust, has been exhausted," he answered, touching his sword; "Courage, mother. While we have this, money cannot fail."⁶

During these years of residence in Asia, Julia Domna's name was placed upon a large number of inscriptions, many of them

¹ Herodian, IV, 9.

² Spartianus, *Carac.* 10. Victor, *Caesar*, XXI; *Epitome*, XXIV. Eutropius, *Breviarium Hist. Rom.* VIII, 20. Orosius, *Hist. Rom.* VII, 18. Hieronymus, *Chronicon Olymp.* p. 248, etc.

³ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 6.

⁴ Cf. Herzog, *Gesch. und System*, II, p. 475.

⁵ Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist.* (*Philiscus*), II, 30.

⁶ Dion Cassius, LXXVII, 10.

dedications of public monuments. In the year 214, at Thamugas, a *lavacrum* or *ambulaerum* was erected by the town; and the date is given by the names of Caracalla and Julia in the ablative case,¹ as if she were her son's consort in power. At Theveste, in Numidia, her name is found over the northwest opening of a four-front arch; over the southeast opening is an inscription to the deified Severus, and over the southwest to Caracalla. From the inscription within, it is known that C. Cornelius Egrilinus left money to build this arch, with statues, and to establish *gymnasia*.² Her name occurs, also, on triumphal arches built at Zama³ and Cuicul,⁴ in 215 or 216. On the former the usual order of names is observed, — first the name of the deified Severus, second of Caracalla, and third of Julia Domna; on the latter there is a singular change, for the name of Severus comes last. The dedication is as follows (*C.I.L.* VIII, 8321):

IMP CA[es] M AVRELIO SEVERO ANTONINO·PIO FELICI AVG
 PARTH[ic]O MAXIMO·BRITANNICO·MAX·GERMANICO MAX
 PONT [ma]X·TRIB·POT·XVIII⁵·COS·IIII·IMP·III·P P·PROCOS
 ET IVLI[ae] [d]OMNAE PIAE FELICI·AVG·MATRI·EIVS·ET
 SENATVS ET PA
 TRIAE ET [cast]RORVM ET DIVO SEVERO AVG·PIO PATRI
 IMP·CAES·M·AVRELI SE
 VERI ANT[onini] PII [felic]IS AVG·ARCVN TRIVMPHALEM
 A SOLO·D·D·RES·P·FECIT

There were dedications, also, at Lambaesis,⁶ and at Subzuar,⁷ in Numidia, upon buildings which have not been identified. Milestones show that several roads in Numidia and Mauretania,⁸ and the aqueduct which supplied Theveste with water,⁹ were built under the patronage of Caracalla and Julia. At Vere-

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2369-2371.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 8321.

² *Ibid.* VIII, 1856; cf. 1855-1857.

⁵ 216 A.D.

³ *Ibid.* VIII, 1798.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2708, 2707, 2704, 2712.

⁷ *Ibid.* VIII, 6002; cf. dedication at Furhi (*Rev. Arch.* XXXIII, p. 438).

⁸ *Ibid.* VIII, 10231, 10197-10198, 10202, 10379, 10340.

⁹ *Ibid.* VIII, 10683.

cunda, Numidia, a temple was dedicated to Saturn and Ops;¹ and at Thubba, in the Provincia Proconsularis, a temple to Mercurius Sobrius, the Genius of Sesase, and Pantheus Augustus,² both inscribed, "For the prosperity" of the Emperor and Empress. At Apulum, Dacia, a temple with horologiae was dedicated, for the same purpose, to Juppiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina.³ The inscriptions on two columns of the great temple at Baalbec have a more distinct reference to the unsettled condition of the Empire; for they indicate that these columns, with their gilt-bronze capitals, were dedicated to the Great Gods of Heliopolis, "for the prosperity and victories" of Caracalla and Julia Domna.⁴ A pedestal from Aspra Spitra, in Phocis, was dedicated by the city of Anticyra in honor of "Julia Domna, Mother of M. Aurelius Antoninus . . . Mother of the Camp."⁵

Many other inscriptions have reference to the frequent dangers to which the imperial family were exposed in the East. "For the prosperity" of the Emperor and Empress, there were dedications to different divinities in Moesia, an altar at Scupi,⁶ a tablet erected by priests near Noviodunum,⁷ and tablets by servants of the Emperor in Dacia⁸ and Pannonia.⁹ A slight variation from the usual formula is presented by a votive tablet of Luna, on which prayer is made "for the prosperity" of Caracalla and Julia Domna "and the well being" of the city Luna by "priests of the altars of Liber Pater."¹⁰ In Spain a *legatus Augusti* of the Legio VII Gemina prays "for the prosperity and perpetuity of the Empire," of Caracalla and Julia Domna.¹¹ At Ampelum, in Dacia, a procurator prays "for their prosperity, victory, and preservation."¹² At Portus Traiani several inscriptions with the names of Caracalla and Julia indicate that they were honored by statues and votive offerings.¹³ At Ostia, Felicissimus paid a vow by dedicating a tablet for the "health and

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2670.

² *Ibid.* VIII, 14690.

³ *Ibid.* III, 1070.

⁴ *Ibid.* III, 138.

⁵ *I.G.S.* III, 7.

⁶ *C.I.L.* III, 1697.

⁷ *Ibid.* III, 7520.

⁸ *Ibid.* III, 1565.

⁹ *Ibid.* III, 3269.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.* XI, 1335.

¹¹ *Ibid.* II, 2661.

¹² *Ibid.* III, 7836.

¹³ *Ibid.* XIV, 122-124.

victory of the Emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus and of Julia Augusta, Mother of Augustus and of the Camp.”¹

Other dedications in many parts of the Empire were made to Julia Domna, without reference to the circumstances of the time.² In most of them there is little deviation from the ordinary formula of dedication, and no indication of the donor. As might be expected, a majority of these inscriptions come from Africa, though others were found in Italy and Britain.

A few inscriptions, which belong to the period when Julia's political power was greatest, merit special attention. The first, found near Aquae Originæ, in Tarraconensis, is a prayer for the Empress alone (*C.I.L.* II, 2529):

PRO · SALVTE
IVLIAE · AVG
MATRI
CASTROR
ET · AVG · CLAV
DIVS · MA
RINVS —

The others were found in Rome. The first is a marble block, which probably served as a base of a statue; with the exception of the Spanish inscription just quoted, it is the only extant dedication for the prosperity of Julia Domna alone³ (*C.I.L.* VI, 786):

VESTAE DONVM · PRO SALVTE
IVLIAE · AVG · MATRIS

¹ *I.G.I.S.* 922.

² *C.I.L.* VI, 1048; VII, 7, 1002, 1047; VIII, 2371, 4285, 8320, 9993, 12031, 10610; X, 3830; XI, 1427. Orelli, 231.

³ In the recent excavations of the Basilica Aemilia a similar inscription for Caracalla has been discovered (*Rev. Arch.* XXXVI, p. 304):

VESTAE · DONVM · PR[o salute]
IMP · M · ANTONINI · PII · AV[g pont max]
TRIB · POTEST · XVI · COS IIII [p p]
EVTYCHES · LIB · FICTOR · CVM FILI[is]
VOTO · SVSCEPTO

M ANTONINI AVG N·P·M·
 EVTYCHVS FICTOR CVM FILIS
 VOTO SVSCEPTO

This stone, found in the Forum Romanum, was probably dedicated in the temple of Vesta; for an offering is made on Julia Domna's behalf because she is mother of the Pontifex Maximus,¹ and therefore stands in close relation to the Vestals.

A bronze tablet made to cover an aperture has some reference to the Empress's private property.² A tablet erected by the guild of watermen indicates that a member of that body erected statues of "Antoninus Augustus our lord" and of "Julia Augusta our lady."³

Although inscriptions do not indicate any change in the sentiments of soldiers and citizens toward the Emperor and his mother, the event proved that Caracalla had forfeited the support of the army,⁴ on which his Empire depended. He was murdered at Carrhae on April 8, 207 A.D.,⁵ by conspirators and the praetorian prefect Macrinus, who was immediately chosen as his successor. Delay in the delivery of official messages was the immediate cause of Caracalla's ruin; for documents sent from Rome with full information concerning the plot were carried first to Julia Domna at Antioch, and were, in consequence, too late to warn the Emperor of his danger.⁶

When the news that Caracalla had been killed and that Macrinus had been proclaimed Emperor reached Julia Domna at Antioch, she seemed at first to be stunned by the magnitude of her misfortune; not that she mourned overmuch for the son who had murdered his brother in her arms, but because

¹ *C.I.L.* VI, 786, notes.

² *Ibid.* VI, 2149. Similar tablets (*ibid.* VI, 2146-2148) refer, evidently, to the property of Vestal Virgins.

³ Orelli, 4115.

⁴ Spartianus, *Carac.* 4-6. Herodian, IV, 9-12. Zosimus, I, 10, 1.

⁵ Dion Cassius, LXXVIII, 6. Herodian, IV, 13. Spartianus, *Carac.* 6-7. Zosimus, I, 10, 1. Orosius, p. 506 (A.V.C. 969), etc.

⁶ Dion Cassius, LXXVIII, 4.

she must leave the imperial state which she had enjoyed for twenty-four years, and must return to private life.¹

To her surprise, the new Emperor seemed to be in no haste to deprive her of her rank. He not only sent messages of condolence to her, but he gave the honors of a royal funeral to her son. She was quick to discern the weakness which prompted Macrinus to this policy, and turned from her mourning to plot against him.

It was believed by some of her contemporaries that though she suffered from an incurable disease, she was ambitious to become a "new Semiramis" and to rule, in name at least, the Empire of which she had been the administrative head. She seems to have expected that the senate and those of the soldiers who were devoted to her house and the "Mother of the Camp" would support her. While she was engaged in these schemes, Caracalla's ashes, which had been sent to Rome for burial, reached their destination. He was deified at the bidding of Macrinus, by a subservient senate, who nevertheless made no attempt to conceal their real hatred of his memory. Their conduct convinced Julia Domna that she could hope for no assistance from them, and when Macrinus, informed of her movements, ordered her to leave Antioch, she gave up all effort to maintain herself and committed suicide in May or June, 217 A.D.²

Her ashes were carried to Rome and deposited with those of Geta in the "monument of Gaius and Lucius";³ afterwards, her sister Maesa, having carried to a successful issue the plans of which she had only dreamed, had the urn removed to the "shrine of Antoninus."³ She was deified several years later,

¹ Dion Cassius, LXXVIII, 23.

² *Ibid.* LXXVIII, 9, 12, 23. Herodian, IV, 13.

³ Dion Cassius, LXXVIII. Reimer (note on Dion LXXVI, 15) identifies the "shrine of Antoninus" with the Mausoleum of Hadrian. The last inscription (in date) containing Julia Domna's name is the dedication of a statue erected at Sebaste, in Phrygia, by Teneius Sacerdos, proconsul (*C.I.G.* 3882, g). As Sacerdos was consul in 219 the dedication must be dated 220 or after. It is either a unique example of a posthumous dedication to an undeified empress, or, as I suspect, there has been some mistake in transcribing the inscription.

probably at the same time with Maesa by the latter's grandson, Severus Alexander.¹ Her statue was erected together with that of the deified Severus in Africa in the year 229, as the following inscriptions prove:

DIVAE IVLIAE
DOMNAE
DEC GILLITANI
S P F² · DIVO SEVERO AVO
IMP · CAES · M · AVRELI SE
VERI ALEXANDRI PII
FELICIS AVG · PONT · MAX
TRIB · POT · VIII COS III
PP
DECVR GILLITANI · S · P · F³

The coins struck in honor of her deification have the legend DIVA IVLIA AVGVSTA, with the portrait of the Empress veiled; on the reverse CONSECRATIO S. C., with different designs, "a peacock" and "Julia Domna veiled holding a spear in her hand; she is carried upward by a peacock."⁴ The latter design shows her apotheosis as *Mater Castrorum*. The peacock, emblem of Juno, is represented on consecration coins of both Faustinas.⁵

No enumeration of the inscriptions in honor of Julia Domna would be complete without an account of the various divinities to whom prayer was made on her behalf, and without some attempt to discover from these records her relation to the worship of the Emperor and the national religion.

The name of no other Empress appears so frequently in prayers or dedications made for the Emperor or his heirs.

¹ Not under Elagabalus, because the number of *Divi* to whom the Arval Brethren made offerings did not change from 218-224 A.D.; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, 833, n. 3. Cf. *C.I.L.* VI, 2104, 5, and 2107, 14.

² *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 178, n. 56.

³ *Ibid.* XXXV, p. 178, n. 57.

⁴ Cohen, IV, p. 108, n. 24, 25. Eckhel, VII, p. 197.

⁵ Cohen, II, p. 426; III, p. 141.

The inscriptions are most frequently dedications to Jupiter under his various aspects: to Juppiter Optimus Maximus, at Luna,¹ Viddi² and Runjero,³ all prayers for the whole family; to Juppiter Optimus Maximus Conservator,⁴ four dedications on various occasions; to Juppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus,⁵ a Syrian god, whose worship, introduced in the time of Commodus, became very popular under Severus;⁶ to Juppiter Depulsor;⁷ and to Juppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus Depulsor.⁸

It was entirely natural to offer supplication to the king of gods for the safety of the greatest of men; for the same reason prayer was offered to this deity and his consort Juno, for the prosperity of their earthly representatives, the Emperor and his wife, or later, the Emperor and his powerful mother.⁹ So we have prayers or dedications to Juppiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina "for the preservation and long continuance of the Empire" of Caracalla and Julia Domna.¹⁰ Other female divinities also are connected with Jupiter, Juno Dea Regina and Minerva,¹¹ and the Nymphs.¹² The secular games also were celebrated with especial honor to Juppiter Optimus Maximus and to Juno Regina, and in the ceremonies relating to the goddess Julia Domna played a conspicuous part.¹³

Mars, as well as Jupiter, was invoked as "preserver" of the imperial family, and dedications were made to him in Africa,¹⁴ where interest in their welfare was most sincere. In the Provincia Proconsularis temples were dedicated to Mercurius Sobrius and to Aesculapius, with the conventional inscription "for the prosperity of the imperial family,"¹⁵ and an arch and

¹ *C.I.L.* XI, 1322.

² *Ibid.* III, 1780.

³ *Ibid.* III, 8185.

⁴ *Ibid.* VIII, 1628, 2619, 4196, 12209.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 410; III, 7520.

⁶ Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, 406.

⁷ *C.I.L.* III, 3269.

⁸ *Ibid.* VI, 419.

⁹ As under Aurelian the Emperor was identified with the sun, because the sun is the highest divine power in nature. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, p. 408.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.* II, 2661; III, 1070.

¹¹ *Ibid.* VIII, 906.

¹² *Ibid.* VIII, 4322.

¹³ Cf. p. 273, note 2.

¹⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 14454, 17835.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* VIII, 12006-12007, at Sarra.

statues of Mercury;¹ a temple, for the same purpose, to Mercurius Sobrius, the Genius of Sesase and Pantheus Augustus;² in Thamugas, a statue to Mecurius Augustus;³ at Bonarda, a dedication to Neptunus Augustus.⁴ An offering in Dacia, to Hercules, for Caracalla and his mother,⁵ was dedicated probably because the Emperor had shown himself an admirer of that hero. At Rome the *equites singulares* made their offering for the imperial family to the Unconquered Hercules, and the Genius of their troop.⁶ In Africa, at Lambaesis, temples were built to Silvanus⁷ and to Aesculapius, Salus, Juppiter Valens, and Silvanus.⁸ Italian dedications to Liber Pater⁹ contain the names of the imperial family with a prayer in one case "for their prosperity and victory." Male and female deities are united in dedications for the whole imperial household to the Immortal Gods and Goddesses,¹⁰ to Lord Saturn and Queen Ops,¹¹ near Lambaesis, and to the Sun and Moon¹² at Lisbon.

The last-mentioned dedication contains a slight variation from the usual formula, and deserves attention because it is a prayer to divinities whose attributes Severus and Julia Domna had assumed on coins, with a legend referring to perpetual peace (*C.I.L.* II, 259. 10):

SOLI AETERNO
LVNAE
PRO · AETERNITATE · IM
PERI · ET · SALVTE · IMP · CAES · [L ·]
SEPTIMI · SEVERI · AVG · PII · ET
[imp] CAES · M · AVRELI · ANTONINI

¹ *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 487.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, 14690; Sesase is the name of a town.

³ *Ibid.* VIII, 17837.

⁷ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2671.

⁴ *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, 173.

⁸ *Ibid.* VIII, 2585; cf. 2579.

⁵ *C.I.L.* III, 1565.

⁹ *Ibid.* VI, 461; XI, 1335.

⁶ *Ibid.* VI, 226-227; cf. 224.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* XII, 2491.

¹¹ *Ibid.* VIII, 2670.

¹² *Ibid.* II, 259; cf. Eckhel, VII, p. 181; Cohen, IV, p. 243, n. 1-5.

AVG · PII [et P Septimi · Getae · nob)
 CAES · ET · [Tu]LIAE · AVG · MATRIS · C[a]S[tr]
 DRVSVS · VALER · COELIANVS
 V · [c] · [legat]VS · AVGVSTORVM
 CV[ram ag] VALE[r]IO [qu]A[drato]
 Q · IVLIVS · SATVR[ninus et]
 Q · VAL[erius] ANTONI[anus]

With the last mentioned may be classified the dedication of a portico to the Great Gods of Heliopolis,¹ an altar to Sol Mithras Deus,² and to Deus Invictus Sol,³ erected because of the "victories of our Augusti," for the four inscriptions refer to the worship of the Sun, a cult which we have reason to believe was especially affected by the imperial family, because of Julia Domna's Syrian origin, and the fact that her father was priest of the Sun at Emesa. We know that the cult was established in the imperial household because there exists an inscription of "a freedman of the three Augusti" who styled himself *Sacerdos invicti Mithrae domus Augustanae*.⁴

Prayers for the whole imperial house are addressed to female divinities as follows: on altars to Cybele, *Mater Deorum*,⁵ at Mascula, in Numidia; to Juno Regina and Minerva,⁶ at Ampelum, Dacia, and Juno, Concordia Augusta,⁷ at Verecunda; on pedestals to Diana,⁸ Isis Regina,⁹ and Vesta,¹⁰ at Rome; to Nemesis,¹¹ at Ostia.

There were dedications, too, to deified personifications of abstract ideas, to the Victory of the three unconquered Augusti and of Julia Augusta¹²; to the Concord of our lords the Emperors, L. Septimius Severus, and M. Aurelius Antoninus, and P. Septimius Geta; the three Augusti, and of Julia Augusta;¹³

¹ *C.I.L.* III, 138.

² *Ibid.* III, 1697. Interpretation of the initials S.M.D. as given in note of *ibid.* l.c.

³ *Ibid.* VI, 738.

⁴ *Ibid.* VI, 2271; cf. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux Mystères de Mithras*, II, p. 100.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2230.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VI, 120.

¹¹ *I.G.I.S.* 917.

⁷ *Ibid.* III, 7836.

⁸ *Ibid.* VI, 354.

¹² *C.I.L.* VIII, 8455.

⁹ *Ibid.* VIII, 4197.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* VI, 786.

¹³ *Ibid.* VIII, 17829.

to the Fortune of the three Augusti, "for the prosperity and return" of the whole imperial family.¹

To the same class belong several dedications to the Genius² or Tyche,³ of a town or troop or an individual. Besides those Genii already named in connection with some other divinity, pedestals were dedicated to the Genius of Legio III, Augusta Pia Vindex⁴ and the Genius of Lambaesis,⁴ the Genius of a centurion⁵ and of a cohort,⁶ and to the Genius of the Emperor and the Juno of the Empress in Arval inscriptions.⁷

Deity is ascribed to Julia Domna on comparatively few coins and inscriptions, and only in the most general terms. The conventional phrases *numini maiestatique devotus* and *numini devotus*⁸ occur on inscriptions referring to the whole family, *numini eius devotus*,⁹ rarely. The Colonia Septimia Vaga described itself as *nomini et auspiciis divinis eorum inlustrata* and dedicated an arch, *numini Augusto eorum*.¹⁰ The Colonia Julia Concordia Felix at Beneventum in erecting a statue to the Empress described itself as *devota maiestati Augg*.¹¹ The *domus divina*¹² mentioned on many inscriptions included the Emperor, the Empress, their sons, Plautilla, and at times Plautianus.

Of divine attributes both *Providentia* and *Aeternitas* are assigned to Julia, the former on coins¹³ and on a single inscription¹⁴ from Ephesus, the latter in the phrases AETERNITAS AVGG and AETERNITAS IMPERI on coins¹⁵ with her name and portrait. The term *Aeternitas* is not always used consistently, for at one time the Emperor and Empress are identified with the sun and

¹ *C.I.L.* VI, 180.

² *Ibid.* III, 5935; VI, 220, 224-227; VIII, 2527-2528, 14690.

³ *C.I.G.* 3771, 3956. *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 176.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2527-2528.

⁶ *C.I.L.* III, 5935.

⁵ *Ibid.* VI, 220.

⁷ *Ibid.* VI, 2086.

⁸ *Ibid.* VI, 226, 1035; VIII, 1798, 2368, 2371, 4395, etc.

⁹ *Ibid.* II, 810, 7485; VII, 963.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* VIII, 1215, 1, 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* IX, 2165, 1, 11.

¹² *Ibid.* VI, 226, 461, 3768; VIII, 2671, 2230, 4322-4323, 8455, 12006-12007, 14690, etc.

¹³ Cohen, IV, n. 163.

¹⁴ *C.I.L.* III, 427.

¹⁵ Cohen, IV, n. 137-139, etc.

moon as emblems of eternity,¹ and at another prayer is made not only for the eternity of the Empire, but also for the eternity of the imperial family.²

There are attributed to her also certain personal qualities or virtues, the names of which appear on many coins struck in the earlier Empire, such as *Pietas*,³ *Pudicitia*,⁴ and *Fecunditas*,⁵ while *Concordia Aeterna*⁶ was represented first on coins of Julia Domna's family. The Empress seems to be considered the personification of each of these attributes, and in this as divine.

On Julia Domna's coins, in a few cases, she was identified with some divinity. She is Fortuna, with the legend *FOR-TVNAE FELICI*.⁷ On the coins which give her the title *MATER AVGG*, *MATER SEN*, *M. PATR*, she is, perhaps, Concordia personified, for she is represented as holding an olive branch and a sceptre.⁸ With the legend *PVDICITIA* she is represented as Chastity "standing veiled or seated holding a patera."⁹ With the legend *MAT. AVGG.*, Julia Domna is represented as Cybele drawn by four lions.¹⁰ In the design of each of these coins the divinity has the features of Julia Domna.

Coins referring to the Neocorate of Sardis and Tarsus show evidence that the Empress was worshipped in these cities by games of several kinds. In the "Chrysanthina" of Sardis she seems to have been honored as Ceres, in the "Choraia" of Tarsus, as Proserpina. In Tarsus, also, games called "Theogamia" were celebrated in honor of the marriage of Severus and Julia Domna.¹¹

There are found on Julia Domna's coins the names and images of many goddesses, Ceres,¹² Cybele,¹³ Diana Lucifera,¹⁴

¹ Cohen, IV, n. 137-139, etc.

² *C.I.G.* 3956, b, 4701, b, 5973. *C.I.L.* II, 259. *Rev. Arch.* XXXV, p. 176.

³ Cohen, IV, n. 147 f.

⁹ Cohen, IV, n. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV, n. 164 f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* IV, n. 116; cf. Eckhel, VII, p. 196.

⁵ *Ibid.* IV, n. 34 f.

¹¹ Krause, *Neocoros*, p. 79 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* IV, p. 243.

¹² Cohen, IV, n. 11-20.

⁷ *Ibid.* IV, n. 56.

¹³ *Ibid.* IV, n. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.* IV, n. 110.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* IV, n. 22, 140.

Vesta,¹ Juno under various aspects, Juno Conservatrix, Juno Lucina, Juno Regina,² Venus under different aspects, Venus Genetrix, Venus Felix, Venus Victrix.³ These goddesses had been represented before the time of Julia Domna on coins of several Empresses; most of them, however, appeared for the first time on coins of the Faustinas. The legends IVNO CONSERVATRIX⁴ and LVNA LVCIFERA,⁵ with their designs, appear for the first on Julia Domna's coins.

Inscriptions confirm the testimony of coins, that this Empress was occasionally identified with some divinity. The town council of Lampsacus erected a statue of her as "Julia Augusta, Hestia, the new Demeter,"⁶ the expense being met by Dionysius, "priest of the Augusti and flamen of their whole house." At Colossae, in Phrygia, in a dedication for the "prosperity and victory and immortality" of Severus and his sons she is named the "New Roman Hera."⁷ At Aphrodisias, in Caria, one Ammia is called priestess of the "Goddess Julia, the new Demeter."⁸ In three inscriptions she received divine honors in her own person; on an altar dedicated to her in Arthuret, Britain, *pro devotione numinis eius*,⁹ and on a tablet dedicated at Vallis Velini, "to Julia Domna Augusta Pia Felix, Mother of the Emperor Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and of the Camp and of the Senate and of her Country, most holy, and . . . to Victory,"¹⁰ and on an altar dedicated to Juppiter, Juno, Minerva, the Genius of a legion, and to Julia.¹¹

From coins and inscriptions, therefore, we infer that Julia Domna received no unusual divine honor. All that was given her had been offered in larger measures to her predecessors. Even on coins, excepting those which deify her, the only new types and legends relating to worship are Juno Conservatrix and Luna Lucifera, and the bust of the Empress resting on the crescent. A slightly larger number of coins and dedications in

¹ Cohen, IV, n. 220-232.

² *Ibid.* IV, n. 93-99.

³ *Ibid.* IV, n. 184 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV, n. 92.

⁵ Cohen, IV, n. 107.

⁶ *C.I.G.* 3642.

⁷ *Ibid.* 3956, b.

⁸ *Ibid.* 2815.

⁹ *C.I.L.* VII, 963.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* IX, 4637.

¹¹ *Ibid.* III, 5935.

honor of Juno¹ may indicate that the "New Roman Hera" was a rival to that divinity, and it is not without significance that the deified Julia Domna is carried on high by Juno's bird, the peacock.

Coins struck in Julia Domna's honor exceed in number and variety those bearing the name of any other Empress. Cohen enumerates over three hundred and fifty varieties of them; many of which no mention has been made in these studies were struck in different colonies of the Empire and afford reliable evidence that Julia's honors were confined to no one locality.

Inscriptions, too, confirm the testimony of Dion Cassius² that this Empress surpassed all of her predecessors in the amount of public honor she received. The majority of the more than one hundred and eighty inscriptions mentioned have some public significance. As each one has been cited in connection with the circumstance in the Empress's life which occasioned the dedication, it remains only to note the person by whom the dedications were made and their reason for making these offerings. Thirty-one were dedicated by civil magistrates, — legati, procurators, and the councillors of provincial towns; a few by minor officials on the occasion of their entrance to some magistracy which necessitated a donation to the state. Thirty-four were by army officers or soldiers of legions in different parts of the Empire, or by a legion as a whole, or by one of its divisions. Most of these were made by soldiers in some way connected with the imperial family, as the legion at Lambaesis, the police troops of Rome and Ostia, and the praetorians and equites singulares, members of the imperial

¹ Cohen, IV, pp. 107 ff. *C.I.L.* II, 2661; VIII, 906; III, 1070; *C.I.G.* 3956, b.

² The fact that the Dion Cassius lived under the powerful empresses Julia Domna and Julia Mamaea seems to have influenced him to record facts relating to the power and rank of earlier empresses, which other historians disregard; e.g. The tribunician privileges of Livia and Octavia (Dion Cassius, XLIX, 38); Livia's 'Suasoria on Clemency' (*ibid.* LV, 13); Livia at the funerals of Drusus and Augustus (*ibid.* LV, 2, 8; XLIX, 15; LVI, 47); Insult to Livia a violation of *maiestas* (*ibid.* LVII, 19, etc.); Livia did not enter the 'Camp,' or the senate house, etc. (*ibid.* 12, 3).

guard. Thirty inscriptions are on public works or statues erected by towns, fifteen of them in the African provinces. Twenty-one inscriptions are dedications by priests, ten being erected on entrance to a priesthood to which it is possible the dedicator was nominated through the favor of the Empress or the imperial family; two of this class were dedicated by the priestess of a colony. Seven dedications were made by private citizens, four by servants of the imperial family or of Plautianus, and two by corporations, not already mentioned, — the “Sailors of the Danube,” and the “Merchants and Money Changers of the Forum Boarum.”

Dedications by towns and by the army were more often made directly to the members of the imperial family, while other dedications were made to some divinity on their behalf.

MARY GILMORE WILLIAMS.

MT. HOLYOKE COLLEGE.